5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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231 but which, as Williams says in his discussion on Orokaiva domestic animals (1930: 60–3), are all ultimately destined for the pot. The fowl population has likewise remained more or less constant for some time (e.g. about 30 in Inonda, 235 40 in Sivepe). The birds are useful not only as a source of meat and eggs, but also of cockerel feathers which are plucked and used for decoration on headdresses, spears, etc. Unlike the dogs, the fowls are no longer a purely [177] indigenous variety: they have been crossed with Rhode Island Reds introduced in the 1950s.

231 A few years before I did my fieldwork, the government began a vigorous [744] campaign to eliminate pig husbandry from Orokaiva villages, in an attempt to improve village hygiene. Though this campaign generally was not very successful, domestic pigs had all but disappeared from the villages where I stayed. Like the other domestic animals they were left to forage for food most of the time but were also fed with pieces of taro and other left-over food, as well as pawpaw, coconut, etc. They mostly slept under the houses, but were free to roam. Males [825] were castrated and females were fertilised by boars roaming in the bush. A close *quasi*-kinship link was assumed to exist between the pig and its keepers, and this was emphasised by taboos on eating a pig reared by a close relative. Techniques of domestication will be discussed below.

241 *Horticulture*. The Orokaiva word *pure* has at least two important meanings: 'work' and 'garden'. As elsewhere in Papua–New Guinea, the garden is a centre of sexual, social, religious as well as industrial activity.

The main product is taro which occupies perhaps nine tenths of the area. But a great variety of other plants are also found: banana, sugar-cane, edible pitpit, German taro (*xantosoma*), a few introduced vegetables such as pineapples, tomatoes, beans, and some sweet potato. Some trees may also be planted though these will not bear until long after the garden has been abandoned: breadfruit, *tauga*, coconut, areca. In addition there are always some herbs and medicines, and if the gardener is a professional medicine man there will be a great many of these. Yams are grown in separate gardens.

Very full data on the size of these gardens have been provided by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Rimoldi (1966). A household tends to establish something like one and a half to two acres of garden per year. A garden is never used for more than one taro season, but as planting and consumption of the taro each tend to be stretched over most of a year, almost two years elapse between the clearing and final abandonment. This gives time for the bananas and sugar-cane to reach maturity too. Once a garden is abandoned, it is not used again for at least eight years or so. The usual swidden agriculture techniques are used, burning, clearing, careful removal of 'rubbish' remaining after the burning process, planting with a digging stick, periodic attention to weeding and heaping up of earth around growing taro, removal of corm-bearing bases of petioles of [242] mature taro for removal and planting in a new garden. The Orokaiva practise no irrigation, no form of terracing or drainage, no manuring, no measures against parasites. Sometimes a fence is made out of tree trunks to keep pigs from breaking in. This is usually done only after a pig has made its first expedition, and only on the side where the pig entered.

While planting and harvesting proceeds almost throughout the year there are [132] important seasonal variations that should not be ignored. There is a dry and a

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824 772 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 [252] [262] [272] [431] Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift: cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival. Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

[574] [262] [764] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

[262] [146] [231] [235] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency. Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 778 [302] [789] [881] [761] [764] Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer, a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his *ivo* in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

423 [224] [22C] The only local hunting land held by Sivepe people is that held by individuals as gardening land. A villager may hunt or fish on the land held by members of any group in the village and in fact often strays further afield than this 'village land' without attracting the attention of other groups. A man may, without consulting others, invite a kinsman from another village to hunt or join in a fish drive with him but no hunting parties involve the assembly or co-operation of larger groups. A man wishing to hunt on the land of one of his kinsmen in another village would consult his kinsman first.

d. Livestock

235 [231] Apart from the game available to the hunter, there are only 2 sources of fresh meat available, the domestic pig and fowl. Six householders own a total of 15 fowls which were either bred or bought by their owner. They are valued mainly as an asset for times of feasting and only to a limited extent for egg production. They are allowed to run loose in the village during the day but are enclosed in shelters at night for protection against dogs.

231 [241] Like fowls, pigs are fed by women mainly on scraps but they find much of their food by roaming in the bush and grazing in old gardens. They have complete freedom of movement within or outside the village during the day and in some instances only are they housed in pens during the night. As a result, they are a constant threat to gardens which are not thoroughly fenced; their movements are a frequent source of dispute and require the gardener to exercise care in siting his garden and sometimes to devote considerable time waiting there to attack a pig which has been frequenting the area.

[431] [426] Of the 24 pigs or piglets claimed by 7 of the 12 householders, 15 were bred by them and the rest received in gift exchanges; none was inherited. The only longstanding debts admitted or claimed by members of the sample were in terms of pigs.

[14C] There is little animal protein in the villagers' diet; some fresh meat and smoked meat or fish is purchased at Saiho market or from vendors travelling to the market - this source of meat seems to be quickly becoming reasonably accessible (E. Waddell: personal communication), but wild pigs - a very important source in many other Orokaiva areas - are rare and the area for hunting restricted. It would be feasible to take steps to modify any lack of animal protein by increasing stock numbers and improving their quality, but this would involve the introduction of new strains and, to maintain any increase or improvements, husbandry techniques would need to be refined.[1] At present parasites take

[C57]

[1] About 50 Berkshire boars were distributed to Village Constables among the groups affected by the Mt Lamington eruption.

231 they marauded gardens, so that I assume that a good number could
be rounded up if Sivepe were to hold a major feast. They were not
at all accessible, however, and none were caught during such hunting
[422] expeditions as the people organised. On the occasions when marauding
pigs were shot, the pigs were always recognized and presented by
the killer to the owner who then presented his pig to some other
person. No doubt these pigs were a resource and perhaps I was at
fault for not taking a census, but with no pigs visibly in evidence,
I considered these assets as too shadowy. In Inonda, where Crocombe
and Hogbin reported 12 pigs in 1962, only two were left in 1966.
235 My prognosis for pigs as an economic resource is poor. The fowl
[262] population, on the other hand, had remained very much as it was at
these earlier investigations: eggs were discovered and eaten
occasionally, but the use of the fowl was for feasting when visitors
[239] had to be entertained. It was also noticeable that the roosters
[293] were deprived of many of their choicest feathers at a time when
[411] headdresses had to be refurbished for dancing or spears decorated.
[579] At a visit from Togahou, which by traditional etiquette, as I
understand it, should have rated at least one pig, the people of
Sivepe killed only fowls. This was, I was told, because there
were no pigs available; hence the fowls were a proper substitute.
It would seem that the fowl is rapidly becoming the substitute for
the pig on many ceremonial occasions, though not yet for all
occasions.

438 There is a great shortage of both pigs and fowls for these
439 ceremonial occasions. Pigs are bought for high prices ($20 to
$30)--from neighboring villages and even, as Crocombe and Hogbin
[435] say, from European planters. Fowls tend to be made available on
big occasions by whoever has them so that their number does not
increase--a few dozen in each of the two villages.

241 We may distinguish, among local plant resources which yield
311 economic products, those plants which are native to the district
and those which have been introduced by Europeans for cash cropping
purposes. Starting our survey with the former of these two
categories, we shall deal first with food plants and next with
economic trees. I have tabulated average food plants per household
as shown for Rimoldi's Sivepe sample and as shown by Crocombe and
Hogbin for Inonda (Table 7).[A] The pattern for the two places is
remarkably similar except that sweet potato is a notably more
important crop at Inonda than at Sivepa. The reason for this is
that it is more dependable under drought conditions such as often
occur at Inonda and also, it seems to do better at Inonda. The
fact that the Inonda taro acreage is higher than the Sivepe acreage
reflects no more than the higher yield per acre in the latter place.
There is no evidence that any major change occurred in the quantities
grown or the methods of cultivation over the period with which we
are concerned, though a small increase in the consumption of
Xantosoma taro may be a symptom that people may be starting to

A [See Cat. 116, p. 212--Analyst]